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Message Text

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42
ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 1151

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN AND AMBASSADOR MCCLOSKEY ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SP
SUBJECT: VISIT OF SENATOR PELL

1. DURING SENATOR PELL'S VISIT TO MADRID FROM THE EVENING OF FEBRUARY 11 UNTIL MORNING OF FEBRUARY 13, I ARRANGED FOR HIM TO SEE THE KING, THE PRIME MINISTER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, THE INTERIOR MINISTER, SILVA MUNOZ OF THE UDE, AND RUIZ JIMENEZ OF THE OPPOSITION CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND SEVERAL OF HIS COL-LEAGUES. I WAS PRESENT AT ALL CONVERSATIONS. THIS MESSAGE SUMMARIZES PELL'S DISCUSSIONS ON THE NEW TREATY, WHILE OTHER MESSAGES WILL REPORT MATTERS OF INTEREST REGARDING POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN.

2. DURING HIS DISCUSSIONS, PELL ASKED TWO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS. HE INQUIRED (A) WHETHER THERE WAS ANY IMPLICIT UNDERSTANDING THAT THE US WAS COMMITTED IN ANY WAY TO ASSIST ANY GOVERNMENT IN SPAIN WITH RESPECT TO INTERNAL SECURITY IF THERE SHOULD BE AN "INSURRECTION", AND (B) WHETHER THERE WAS ANY UNDERSTANDING WHICH COMMITTED THE US TO ASSIST SPAIN IN THE EVENT OF AN ATTACK BY SOME OTHER POWER WHICH WAS NOT PART OF A GENERAL ATTACK ON THE WEST. IN ALL CASES, HIS SPANISH INTERLOCUTORS" ANSWERED EMPHATICALLY IN THE NEGATIVE. IN SOME CASES, SUCH AS IN THE KING'S CASE, HE SEEMED RATHER SURPRISED AND SOMEWHAT TROUBLED THAT PELL SHOULD HAVE ASKED
QUESTION (A). PELL HAS EXPLAINED TO ME THAT HE HAD ASKED THESE QUES-
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TIONS IN ORDER THAT HE MIGHT ASSURE HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE SHOULD THESE POINTS COME UP, AS HE THOUGHT THEY WOULD. DURING THE RATIFICATION.

3. PELL TOLD THE SPANISH THAT HE THOUGHT THE TREATY WOULD HAVE SOME SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN THE SENATE AND REMINDED HIS LISTENERS THAT ALTHOUGH IT WOULD TAKE ONLY A THIRD OF THE SENATE TO BLOCK THE TREATY, A SMALL GROUP OF 7 OR 12, IF IT SO DESIRED, COULD DELAY THE TREATY FOR QUITE SOME TIME. HE SAID THAT THE DIFFICULTIES WOULD ARISE FROM THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS. (A) THE LINGERING VIEW THAT SPAIN WAS A DICTATORSHIP AND VIOLATED HUMAN RIGHTS; (B) THE QUID WAS FAR GREATER THAN WHAT THE US RECEIVED IN RETURN; (C) OPPOSITION IN GENERAL TO US MILITARY BASES ABROAD; AND (D) SPAIN'S FAILURE TO SIGN THE NPT. PELL ADDED THAT A FURTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR WAS THAT THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BILL CONTAINED A SPECIFIC PROVISION THAT ASSISTANCE COULD NOT BE GIVEN TO ANY COUNTRY WHICH DEMONSTRATED A CONSISTENT PATTERN OF GROSS VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. PELL SAID SENATE CONSIDERATION OF TREATY WOULD BE HELPED BY PROMPT AND CONTINUING DEMOCRATIC REFORMS BY PRESENT GOVERNMENT. HE LEFT THE SPANISH WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT WHILE HE THOUGHT THE TREATY WOULD EVENTUALLY BE RATIFIED, IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR THE SPANISH TO ASSUME THAT THIS WAS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION.

4. PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CONVERSATION IN THIS RESPECT WAS THE ONE THAT PELL HAD WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER THIS MORNING. AREILZA MADE CLEAR THAT FAILURE OF THE SENATE TO RATIFY WOULD BE AN EXTREMELY SERIOUS STEP BECUASE IT WOULD UNDERCUT THE EFFORTS OF THE KING AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT TO DEMONSTRATE OUTSIDE SUPPORT FOR THE NEW REGIME AS IT MOVES SPAIN TOWARD DEMOCRATIC REFORM AND TOWARD SPAIN'S GREATER ASSOCIATION WITH THE WESTERN WORLD. HE SAID THAT HE WAS ENTIRELY PREPARED TO COME TO WASHINGTON IF HE COULD HELP IN ANY WAY TO EXPLAIN TO KEY SENATORS, MANY OF WHOM HE KNOWS PERSONALLY, WHAT SPAIN IS TRYING TO DO TODAY AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE TREATY AS A DEMONSTRATION OF SUPPORT FOR THE KING AND FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO REMINDED PELL THAT IF THE TREATY WERE DEFEATED, AMERICAN MILITARY FORCES IN CONFIDENTIAL

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SPAIN WOULD BE REQUIRED TO LEAVE SPAIN BY SEPTEMBER 26, 1976.

5. COMMENT: I BELIEVE THAT PRIOR TO HIS ARRIVAL IN MADRID, PELL WAS NEGATIVELY INCLINED TOWARD THE TREATY. WHEN HE LEFT, HE INDICATED TO ME THAT HE BELIEVED HE

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WOULD SUPPORT IT. WHAT I STRESSED TO HIM WAS MY BELIEF
THAT THIS TREATY REPRESENTED A MAJOR SUPPORT FOR THE
GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TOWARD DEMOCRATIC REFORM. HE FELT
THAT THIS ARGUMENT MIGHT BE THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE TO BE
USED IN THE SENATE. I ALSO ENDEAVORED TO IMPRESS UPON
PELL MY VIEW THAT THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE
PUSHED TO GO ANY FASTER THAN IT BELIEVES IT CAN IN IM-
PLEMENTING REFORM MEASURES. HE TENDED TO BELIEVE THAT
THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD MOVE FASTER, BUT I HOPE THAT BY
THE TIME HE LEFT, HE HAD A MORE BALANCED VIEW.
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